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JOHN LOFTON

Not exactly as Warnke told it

How does one convey adequately, in print, the insufferable arrogance of Paul Warnke, former President Jimmy Carter's chief SALT II treaty negotiator?

The answer is that, in print, one does not attempt this because it is impossible. The man must be seen. And even then the thought keeps occurring that certainly his demeanor is an act. It must be an act. But, alas, it isn't. Suffice it to say that Mr. Warnke makes *Washington Post* Executive Editor Ben Bradlee seem humble.

Early this month Mr. Warnke appeared on WTTG-TV's daytime program "Panorama," in which he was a participant in a discussion about arms control. And when asked if the Soviets are cheating on the SALT II agreement — which is like asking if the pope is Catholic — he replied:

"Our commissioner at the Standing Consultative Commission, Gen. Richard Ellis, formerly head of the Strategic Air Command, has testified to the Congress that the record of compliance is good on both sides."

As far as the overall limits of the SALT II agreement are concerned, Mr. Warnke said, "We've abided by them and the Soviets have abided by them."

He also said that the CIA has confirmed that the "core provisions" of the SALT II accord have been abided by and that these provisions are readily verified.

And on the subject of President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, also known as Star Wars, Mr. Warnke pooh-poohed the idea that the Soviets are making any real progress in this area.

So, what's the story? Well, as you may have anticipated, it is not exactly as Mr. Warnke tells it.

A spokeswoman for the CIA tells

me that she can't comment on what the agency believes, but she notes that Mr. Reagan has three times reported to Congress that the Soviets have exceeded SALT II's strategic nuclear delivery vehicle limits. And, she says, since these were executive branch reports, "it stands to reason" that the CIA was involved in the reports, which dealt with national security matters. "That's the way the government works."

And a source in Gen. Ellis's office, who asks not to be identified, says that Gen. Ellis agrees with the conclusions of these reports Mr. Reagan has sent to Congress.

In February 1985, the president told Congress that the Soviets have violated two provisions of SALT II by illegally encoding electronic data during their missile tests and illegally modernizing their ICBMs. And, said Mr. Reagan: "The United States government also reaffirms its previous conclusions that the U.S.S.R. has probably violated the SS-16 deployment prohibition of SALT II..."

In a report to Congress in December 1985, the president confirmed additional Soviet violations of SALT I and SALT II, such as the "use of former SS-7 ICBM facilities in support of the development and operation of the SS-25 mobile ICBMs," the "concealment of the association between a missile and its launcher during testing," and strategic launcher deployments in excess of allowable levels.

Does Paul Warnke receive better intelligence than the president? When asked this question on "Panorama," he replies, smugly of course, that he just makes better use of this data than Mr. Reagan does.

And responding to those who might dismiss violations such as these as merely "technical," a new report by the Committee on the Present Danger — entitled "Where We Stand on Arms Control" — says: "They presage the development of substantially improved offensive ballistic missile capabilities, including a mobile, clandestine (and essentially invulnerable) ICBM which could serve as a major reserve force."

"Of all the officially documented Soviet SALT II violations, the violation of the agreement that prohibits

deliberate concealment measures arguably has the most foreboding long-term implications because it impedes the U.S. ability to monitor other key aspects of Soviet force development. Because of this, the United States cannot expect to have great confidence in its estimates of Soviet deployments. This lack of confidence will make it more difficult for the United States to plan for a prudent defense posture."

Even Mr. Carter said on April 25, 1979, that a Soviet violation of the part of the SALT II accord prohibiting deliberate concealment "would be so serious as to give us grounds to cancel the treaty itself."

But Mr. Warnke is most off-base in his attempt to ridicule the significance of what the Soviets are doing in space. In an open letter to Congress last month, 30 former Soviet scientists — most of whom have doctorates in physics, engineering, or computer science — asserted that "from our own experience and understanding ... we are convinced that the Soviet scientific community and government leaders believe ef-

fective strategic defenses are technically possible and doable," and that the Soviets have been working on Star Wars research since the late 1960s.

These ex-Soviet scientists also said that the Soviet Union devotes "much more of its efforts and resources into its own Star Wars program" than does the United States. And they warned that the Soviets would likely continue to proceed with

their version of a Strategic Defense Initiative even if an agreement were signed prohibiting this.

In addition, the authoritative *Jane's Spaceflight Directory* says the Soviets hold an "almost frightening"

lead over the United States in space. The editor of this London-based publication, Reginald Turnill, says the Soviets are so far ahead of us in space "that they are almost out of sight." Mr. Turnill says:

"The fact is that Star Wars is a phony controversy. Space has always been 'militarized,' the process having begun before Sputnik I, with the development of ICBMs" and the subsequent introduction of spy satellites. He says that U.S. military anxieties about Soviet research in space lasers are "well-founded," observing: "Let there be no mistake. There is a Soviet as well as a U.S. Star Wars program."

The Wall Street Journal has also reported that while Mr. Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative encounters debate and delay in the United States, "the Soviet Union is quietly moving ahead with its own space-defense plans." And *The New York Times*, in a dispatch from Moscow, reports that while the American space program tries to recover from setbacks, "the Soviet Union is pressing ahead in a vigorous bid for pre-eminence in the heavens."

Mr. Warnke?

John Lofton is a staff columnist for The Washington Times.